2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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In the land-tenure map in the Appendix it will be seen that 32 owners continue to cultivate their old *ifitantala* or house-sites after moving to a new site adjoining the abandoned one.

As land can never be permanently owned by one individual the laws of inheritance only apply in a restricted sense. If a man dies his near relatives can reap his crop and continue to use the garden site as long as they please. After that it reverts to bush. I know no case of land having been sold even in the areas near white settlement. A man can sell the whole of the crops of his garden, and even the branches piled before burning, but never the ground. The sale of crops is becoming fairly common near Kasama where there is a good deal of movement from one village to another. A garden of cut trees might fetch £1 to £2 and the beans off a big patch about 10s.

Conclusion.

In conclusion it can be said that each individual Bemba has freedom to select ground for cultivation as against the rights of his chief and his fellow commoners. While no individual ownership of land is recognized in our sense of the word, yet each individual has security of tenure in so far as he requires it in regard to a kinship system which permits of frequent moving from village to village, and methods of agriculture which only allow him to cultivate a garden for four or five years.

The question of the future of the traditional system of land tenure raises a number of practical points. It is possible that fixed methods of cultivation will be adopted before long by the Bemba, and it is often argued that the native will not improve his cultivation while he has no fixed rights of ownership over his land. But the foregoing pages should show that it is not insecurity of tenure which is keeping the Bemba from further agricultural development. In fact the introduction of individual tenure and the sale or lease of land would only be of value to the Bemba, as to other Bantu peoples, as a measure of protection against land-hungry Europeans should these become a danger. As elsewhere, the concept of land as a saleable commodity will revolutionize native society. In the case of the chief, land ownership will be severed from political responsibility,[1] and the commoner will acquire the right to exploit

[1] Cf. L. P. Mair's account of the state of affairs among the Ganda where the Uganda agreement of 1900 resulted in 'the almost complete dissociation of

7: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

(c) Economic Background. The Bemba are an agri-

cultural people

like most of the Central Bantu group to which they belong. They keep no cattle. Tsetse-fly at present prevents their keeping stock over most of the country, but in any case they seem to have no pastoral traditions, whatever they may have had formerly. Thus they have no means of storing wealth as have the Southern Bantu. Their marriage contracts are fulfilled by service and not by the passage of cattle. In the old days military glory and the extraction of tribute from conquered peoples seems to have been the dominant ambition of the Bemba chiefs, and their wealth consisted in the size of their following and the amount of service they were able to command. This fact profoundly influences their position at the present day (cf. p. 116).

The soil of most of this district is poor and it has not attracted white settlement. The staple crop is finger millet (*eleusine corecana*), while some kafir corn, a little maize, legumes, and pumpkins are also grown. The people practise shifting cultivation of a primitive type, and the plentiful supply of land and the lack of any localized natural resources which might attract the inhabitants to settle in one area rather than another all affect the political system. As has been shown, they decrease the strength of local ties as against political or kinship affiliations, and they account for the fact that the power to distribute land is not an important prerogative of leadership in distinction to conditions in most Southern Bantu tribes.

Hunting and fishing contribute a small share of the food-supply only. Organized marketing does not exist, and under modern conditions no cash crop has been found for this area. This fact, together with the absence of opportunities for local employment, forces the adult male population to look for work outside the tribal area, with resultant effects, as will be seen, on the political system of the tribe.

(*d*) *White Administration*. The type of white administration introduced in this area is described on pp. 112–20.

III. Bases of Authority

The positions of leadership in Bemba society consist of the following offices: (*a*) *territorial rulers* (chiefs and headmen); (*b*) *administrative officers and councillors*; (*c*) *priests, guardians of sacred shrines, and magic specialists with economic functions*; (*d*) *army leaders* in the old days. Succession to all these offices is